*177 175 466 [484] Baird further sought to secure Carib clients with special benefits. He tended to the emergencies of his workers and their families day and night. From time to time, Baird made trips to Georgetown possible by allowing workers to ride one way free on the charter flights which [891] left the air pool and later the air strip empty. In 1966, he started the first school. It was built at In Time and staffed by a teacher Baird privately paid.

*177 175 443 • 43 [434] Baird's trade store was operated primarily as a service for the workers. Local provisions were bought and sold at the same price. This policy was used also with many foods flown in from Georgetown. The thirty-two or more workers who earned about $4 a day had an income of approximately $1200 a year. As these workers had only small gardens [241] [461] and their wives and other members of their households enjoyed a great deal of leisure, most provisions were purchased. Cassava bread, the staple, sold for 16¢ a disk which is about a half inch thick and two feet in diameter. Local fish and meat sold for about 40¢ a pound. Rice, sugar, salt fish, canned milk, tinned sardines, and other foods were available. The store stocked a variety of implements for hunting, fishing, farming, and doing household chores. It also stocked cigarettes, matches, soap, cloth lengths, and manufactured clothes. Baird [452] extended each worker up to $100 credit and arranged special purchases. These included guns[2] and radios. One Carib man bought a portable, [454] manually operated Singer sewing machine in this manner. As there was no opportunity for investment, a worker would hide away somewhere about his house any cash he did not immediately use to make purchases.

*177 438 439 Since Gillin's time, miners, missionaries, and government projects have all combined to provide this population with market opportunities. Wages and external resources have come to be central in the problem of making a living in the bush. However, Caribs exercise little or no control of the market opportunities, nor do they have the means to travel to reach other markets. To this extent, the Upper Barama River Caribs have remained detached from managerial or entrepreneurial roles in their participation in regional exchanges. The conveyance of market opportunities into the Upper Barama River area has remained highly *177 437 439 dependent on non-Carib middlemen. There are no intervening regional market networks with adjacent populations. Rather, exchange is directly with individuals who have come into the frontier from a center of commercial and governmental activity, Georgetown, and bring with them transportation and communication ties back to this center. With the considerable flux of individual middlemen and the market opportunities they have brought into the area, specific sources of regional trade have been marked by their impermanence. Thus, the Upper Barama River Caribs have increasingly become a population encapsulated within and dependent upon the national society.

*177 43 The relationships Caribs have had with middlemen reflect the highly fluid nature of regional exchanges. In the face of the obviously uncertain markets conveyed by the porknockers, Caribs remained uncommitted to these resource opportunities. In contrast, the men from the mining companies stood in a position of increased resource demand and control of the regional transportation and communication networks. [571] The more established nature of mining company enterprises promoted

patron-client relationships in which Carib clients could also make limited demands on their employer. Generally, the degree to which these new opportunities were available to Caribs was reflected in a neglect of bush agriculture. Over time, this neglect proved to be precarious. These markets dissolved with the cessation of gold mining, leaving former miners and their families with no immediate relationship to a source of provisions. The new governmental offices, including that of Amerindian Captain, and officeholders do not have a record of sufficient permanence and assured access to stores of external resources to aggregate around them individuals in client positions. Although prominent among the new markets, cash crops have not replaced subsistence crops to any substantial degree. During the period of field work, no Carib was dependent for survival on the cash crops he grew. Rather, this activity was pursued in addition to subsistence farming and the income was used as pocket cash to make purchases among the commercial items at the trade store. In this manner, Caribs were not critically dependent on networks for the regional exchange of such refractory commodities as agricultural produce.

In short, regional markets have been impermanent. Even so, they have made available wages and external resources that have attracted the participation of the Carib population. Caribs can take part in these market opportunities and hedge against their insecurity only in so far as they maintain some level of bush agriculture. This is possible without restriction, as throughout the various human occupations in the Upper Barama River drainage basin, there is no

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[43] [1]Although the market opportunities have been limited in the Upper Barama River area, they are not much improved at either the Cuyuni River or Matthew's Ridge where segments of the population have gone. Matthew's Ridge, a mining settlement with single men from the coast, is viewed as a particularly predatory environment by the Carib men, especially those with more than one wife. Men are wary to take their [593] wives along and equally wary to leave them unattended anywhere else. [361] As external resources have gathered this dispersed population a substantial number has elected to remain in the Upper Barama River area and organize around the sources of opportunity there.

[435] [56] [2]A rifle costs about $150 and a license must be obtained.

[3]Guyana became an independent nation in 1966.

[4]Amerindian Captains' salaries are based on population size. The Upper Barama River Carib Captain receives the highest salary which is for a population of over 500.

[465] [5]In addition, food was distributed to settle a request of a year's standing that payment be made to fifteen men who had helped clear the sites for the government buildings at the Air Strip. Other government subventions reached this Carib population. At [747] Christmas and other times, care packages from the Canadian Red Cross were sent into Baramita Air Strip by the Amerindian Welfare Officer and contained clothes, school items, toys, and powdered milk.

[436] [6]This figure included 6¢ a pound for bananas and plantains and 3 1/2¢ a pound for apple bananas.

*177 476 the dependent partners are identifiable. This contrasts to the associational nature of the previous pattern of cooperation among the Carib men.

*177 175 462 The increased isolation of the family group resident in a clearing has affected the assignment of tasks according to sex. Gillin reports a discrete separation of tasks (1936:3,46,51,71). Men would hunt and clear fields, construct houses, canoes and cassiri kanus, and do all basketry and plaiting. Women would harvest cultigens, gather edibles from the forest, prepare all food, sew, tend children, and exclusively assist in childbirth while the men were not allowed in the clearing. Men and women would cooperate to plant fields and poison streams for fish. During 1970-71, men were observed in their own households engaged in all of those tasks which previously were allocated to women. For the most part, women's tasks are those which must be done on a daily basis. Men assisted with the activity when the females in the household were otherwise indisposed and there was [844] no wider circle of females to call upon. Men now commonly deliver their wife's children. Women, on the other hand, were not observed taking part in any of the men's activities.

*177 437 [436] Exchanges between people from households in different clearings are now conveyed in terms of immediate exchange. Barter has been used, but increasingly the exchange of labor, food, or craft items *177 464 465 is conducted with money. Labor assistance, including help in clearing and planting fields, building houses and cassiri kanus, and processing cassiri, is paid for either in food or money. Manioc *177 • 43 tubers, the prepared cassava cakes, turtles and other bush meat are

sold between clearings, and although not conducted through trade store channels, prices are those in use at the trade store. Rates of exchange for food and craft items not carried in the trade store tend to be much more variable. Also, food payments for labor services tend to vary. When money is used, the rate is usually identical with payments made for government employment. The extent of these local transactions is not great. Yet they, along with the absence of general reciprocity, demonstrate the tendency for households in different clearings to be closed with regard to sharing resources. Obviously, there now exists differential access to money or local resources on a situational basis. This contrasts to the lack of economic specialization among the population prior to the introduction of the gold mining companies and the more sustained difference among miners and nonminers during the existence of gold enterprises.

During 1970-71, exchanges for short term labor involved both groups and individuals. The kaiyap or group work day is a recent innovation among the Upper Barama River Caribs. It has only occurred at the Air Strip and has been exclusively attended by Air Strip residents. During the year of field work, few men were sufficiently comfortable with the resources they commanded to exchange days of work with others. Consequently, the kaiyap has taken a special form. Four kaiyaps were held by three men, including the Captain. For each, a group of about twenty men worked during the morning to clear a field. They were served cassiri in the field, and after work, they had a meal at the house of the man sponsoring the kaiyap. Then, the remainder of the cassiri was consumed in a convivial atmosphere

others. That is, this population is encapsulated relative to access to regional transportation and communication and control of market opportunities. Limited regional markets including employment have been conveyed into the Upper Barama River area by non-Carib middlemen. As a consequence, a limited number of Caribs have become clients to middlemen patrons and have brought their sons or sons-in-law into an employment opportunity. In this manner, extended household organization in which a son or son-in-law and his family remain with the parents is one pattern of organization that is evident among the Upper Barama River Caribs.

There is one further note to make on the social organization of the Upper Barama River Caribs. That is, the instrumentality of the one type of local communication event has changed relative to shifts in the boundaries of the resource-sharing social unit. The cassiri spree provides for the institutionalized interaction of individuals through songs, dances, and other encounters. As Gillin observed it (1936:60-70,137-139), a spree was held by one man but participation tended to include the residents of one settlement, although strangers were usually welcomed. A program of activities was continued for several days until the supply of cassiri was exhausted. During this time individuals engaged in a formalized manner related in different ways to the people they saw almost continually. In addition, the event itself expressed the solidarity of the people participating. Less than total participation of the residents in a settlement was indicative of the strained relationships which were a prelude to the relocation of households.

241 energy characteristic of this environment. Slash-and-burn cultivation
182 is a replication of the rain forest, and in this manner, human groups
105 do not extend their niche through agriculture but rather integrate
food production with the extant biotic community (Geertz 1963:15-28;
361 Meggers 1971:19-21). The productivity of cultivation, hunting, fish-
105 ing, and gathering were the essential components of subsistence, and
[182] the Upper Barama River Caribs, limited in population size, shifted in
location as a response to these endeavors. As a consequence of this
semi-nomadic adaptation, the largest social unit was the settlement,
within which the sharing of resources and the exchange of labor
were patterned.

*177 In contrast, wage labor and other regional markets and modern
105 medical technology have combined to expand the niche of the Upper
161 Barama River Carib population. In turn, population size has expanded.
[464] At the time of Gillin's (1936) study in 1932-33, the Upper Barama
[438] River Caribs numbered about 200 and were located in dispersed settle-
[657] ments along the river corridor. There are now more than 550 Caribs
nucleated around Baramita Air Strip. This increase in size has been
achieved despite losses due to migration. The current rate of in-
crease is about eight percent annually. Coupled with a low death
rate, this is indicative of the potential for further increases
among this population. Using population size as the coefficient of
adaptation as proposed by Alland (1967, 1970), clearly a successful
adjustment has been made to the new resources available over the
short term generation-to-generation time span.

*177 In this context, any projections for either the future of the
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#177 • 43 Upper Barama River Carib population or the perpetuation of the Baramita Air Strip community must include a consideration of the regional economy and its social organization, to which local behavioral strategies and population size are related. Clearly, the Upper Barama River Caribs are now dependent on the external resources made available to them through highly personalized channels. A curtailment in regional exchanges, such as the closing of the gold mine, results in hardship for this population. Similarly, it may be expected that the development of opportunities for regional exchange, especially direct access to regional markets and some measure of local control in regional exchange, will result in further organizational strategies among the Upper Barama River Caribs in their integration into the national political economy. Of course, this development would necessarily be accompanied by publicly available transportation and communication which are the life lines along which regional resource exchanges are conveyed. Also, changes in the apportionment of local resources, such as the implementation of a system of land tenure, would further contribute to a basis for differentiation among the local population in the context of the national political economy.

121 This study has been conducted from the perspective of the regional influences upon a local population. The manner in which this inquiry has been informed by the orientations of population ecology and culture change can be phrased to facilitate comparative study. First, a local population is the unit which remains constant. In restudies conducted and proposed on changing societies (Redfield 1950; Lewis